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V. CENTRAL-SOUTH CHINA

A. Strength of Family and Clan

Although by the twentieth century the vitality of the clan had deteriorated in most of China, it retained a strong position in the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, and Kwangtung. In Kwangtung, it had reached its highest degree of development and continued to play a major role in the society up to World War II.[36] 618

On reason for the strength of the clan in Hupeh, Hunan, Kwangtung, and Kiangsi was that entire villages in these provinces consisted of members of only one or a few clans. For instance, of the 1,291 villages in Kao-an hsien in western Kiangsi, 86.5 per cent had one surname only, 8.05 per cent two surnames, and only .69 per cent more than four. By contrast, a study of Ting hsien, a hsien in Hopei, showed only one of 62 villages with a single tsu, and in none of them did it play a significant part in village administration.[37] 618 621

Daniel Kulp's investigation of a small village near Chaochow in the 1920's and Olga Lang's study of twenty-four Kwangtung clans just before

36. Hu, op. cit., pp. 10-11; Lang op. cit., pp. 173-79.

37. Hu, op. cit., p. 14.

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← World War II indicate that in Kwangtung, at least, clan administration of the village was the rule rather than the exception.[38] Independent of the state except in the matter of taxes, major crimes, and the necessity of registering marriages, the village governed itself through enforcement by the clan of centuries-old customs inculcated by the family. Clan rule was not weakened when the Republic introduced officials at the village subdistrict levels, where none had existed under the imperial government. The new officials were recruited from the same group which had managed the clans, and clan and government posts were often held by the same individual.[39]

Leadership in the clan was theoretically based on age and scholarship. In reality, however, control was held by a few wealthy and influential families belonging to the strongest branches of the clan. When Kulp and Lang made their investigations, leadership in the village was beginning to be challenged by younger men who had demonstrated their natural abilities by the acquisition of individual wealth, a modern education, or an official position. Lang found that the Kwangtung clans she studied were led

38. D. H. Kulp, Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism, Vol. 1. Phenix Village, Kwangtung, China, New York, Columbia University, 1952; and Olga Lang, op. cit., pp. 173-78.

39. Lang, op. cit., pp. 177-78.

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culturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture was intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its units of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the land within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to Chinese of all classes, no matter how far he may wander or how Westernized his life may have become. There are ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring network of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that Communist Party workers now seek to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the plains of Honan to the delta of the Pearl River? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

A. Village Life

First of all, life in the farming village is meager. In Honan in 1932 there was about one-half an acre of cultivated land per person; in the richer, semi-tropical province of Kwangtung there was one-fifth of an

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for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are unlike those of the Chinese, e.g. they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizing caravans, butchering, leather working, metal work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[35]

The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Imam, usually elected from among

35. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

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senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes, interprets Islamic law, and presides at ceremonies.[36] The Ahung was usually versed in Arabic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

In the Central-South Region, Mohammedan communities are found in all provinces. But the major centers, now recognized by the Communists as "Autonomous Areas," lie in the northwest and in Central Asia. The following table[37] of believers and religious establishments (probably mosques) give some indication of their distribution throughout the region, as of 1938. However the source of these figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars think is far too high.[38]

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36. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

37. Chung-kuo Nien Chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

38. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammadan scholar Pai Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Languages Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

2:Ling & Ruey--56 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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M /32 cont./
132 a ts'un. Excessive rain continues throughout the spring and summer for weeks and months, rendering the place muddy and difficult for travel. As soon as the rains let up, the steaming
M atmosphere penetrates the bones. The spring water flowing from
[312] rocky mountain hollows is very cool and upsets the stomach when drunk. The climate is so bad that outsiders living there are liable to become sick. This is what Ma Fu-po said: "Alas, Wu Ch'i is full of poison." In autumn and winter the frost and snow fall early, the distant hollows and lonely peaks being piled with accumulated snows for many months without melting. Often hailstorms pelt the land and icicles hang from the eaves to the ground as big as pillars. To go in and out of a house the Miao have to break open the ice with sticks. If one goes up six li it is especially extreme. Even the birds run away from the cold weather. Since the area has been developed and the Miao civilized, there have been less rainy weather, fewer freezes, and birds have come back to nestle in the trees." This quotation gives some general ideas about the climate of the Miao area. But today, the Miao area, having been developed for a long time, has no more jungle, and although the climate remains the same, the geographical environment has been greatly changed. The former malaria-ridden wilderness has become thickly populated areas.

C Settlements. — The distribution and types of Miao settle-
712 ments vary according to the topography and ethnic group. The
[621] Chinese generally live in a ch'eng /city/, a pao /fort/, a t'un
[361] or in the neighborhood of a stone guard house. The city is /Illus. 8 faces p. 33/ /33/ larger than the pao and the t'un smaller than the pao. So the important Chinese settlements are the paos and t'uns. Paos and t'uns are more numerous in the Miao area than in any other region. The origin of their construction is referred to in Miao Fang-pei Lan in the Ch'eng Pao P'ien /Section on Cities and Forts/ as follows: "According to the Feng-huang subprefecture's negotiations for improvements and memorial to the throne to repair the paos, Te-sheng-ying /Victory Barracks/ (Illus. 9) and Liao-chia-ch'iao /Liao-chia Bridge/, the defense commissioner